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8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 668 796 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 182 535 796 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the ceremonial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 792 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior, Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

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[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

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8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 792 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded, and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a′) The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b′) This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c′) But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d′) With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénətekə (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 792 726 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, accompanied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 171 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes.*

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit., in toto.*

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59. [17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902. [19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

602 behavior and of course affect which is associated with the calling of any individual by a relationship term, and which arises directly from the use of the term, even where the behavior pattern has no functional validation. In some very unusual cases this association may be completely eliminated by some conflicting factor, but more frequently the conflict is resolved by the substitution of some other term whose behavioral concomitants are more suitable. The opportunity for such manipulation of the terminology is dependent to some degree upon how distantly related in the classificatory category the individual in question is from the person who stands in the focal relationship to the speaker. To be effective, these substituted terms must be used reciprocally and consistently by all parties involved. The use of kinship terms for the Comanche is never a one-way affair; the relationship which the application of a term signalizes always demands that the person addressed reciprocate with the appropriate complementary term, and generally also with the behavior thus implied. Otherwise the initial usage is meaningless.

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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[2] as part of a broader process of cultural change.[1]

The linguistic concomitants of acculturation have been treated by most linguists in their general texts and in articles under the rubrics of loanwords or borrowing.[2] For the most part their concern has been with the classical languages or those having a written tradition. Anthropological linguists have given the subject somewhat more attention in their general writings on ethnolinguistics,[3] have mentioned it in passing in specialized papers on linguistics,[4] and have contributed a number of articles on loanwords in various unwritten languages.[5] Studies of the wider aspects of linguistic acculturation have recently appeared,[6] and

[113] [1] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.337 (1948).

[113] [2] Leonard Bloomfield, Language (1933); William Graff, Language and Languages (1932); Edward Sapir, Language (1921), and Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); and E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917).

[113] [3] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24. (1948) and The Relation of Language to Culture. Anthropology Today (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554-73; Edward Sapir, Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); Ismael Silva-Fuenzalida, Ethnolinguistics and the Study of Culture, AA 51.446-56 (1949); C. F. Voegelin and Z. S. Harris, Linguistics in Ethnology, SJA 1 no. 4 (1945), and The Scope of Linguistics, AA 49.568-600 (1947). See also Joseph H. Greenberg, Linguistics and Ethnology, SJA 4.140-47 (1948); and A. L. Kroeber, Some Relations of Linguistics and Ethnology, Lg. 17.287-91 (1941).

[113] [4] For example, Leonard Bloomfield, p. 106; Trager, p. 217; Swadesh, p. 312ff; and Whorf, p. 302, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6 (New York, 1946).

[5] See references listed in the section on Loanwords.

[113] [6] Felix Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-7 (1951); George Hersog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941); Jean B.

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[2] Weinreich has published an excellent study of bilingualism in contact situations.[6a] However, cultural anthropologists interested in acculturation have evinced little concern with the topic. Linton makes no mention of the role of language in his writings on acculturation.[7] Herskovits' survey[8] treats the matter in a programmatic fashion and stresses the need for research on pidgin and creole dialects and other substandard forms of speech.[8a] Sapir's richly loded discussion of the significance of linguistic evidence for the student of culture history and culture contact[9] has to date been left unmined, even unassayed.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it will examine the effects of a long career of culture contact and change on the Comanche language. Second, it will attempt to show what light this linguistic evidence throws on the nature and history of that contact. As a study in ethnolinguistics it hopes to demonstrate the value of linguistic materials as an adjunct to other forms of investigation. It thus purports to be both

[113] Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45.427-34 (1943); D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu.' Acculturation, AA 45. 435-40 (1943); Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3.130-46 (1947); Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA, 45.410-26 (1943); Zdeněk Salzmann, Contrastive Field Experience with Language and Values of the Arapaho, IJAL 17.98-101 (1951); Paul L. Garvin, Kutenai Lexical Innovation, Word 4.120-26 (1948); and William Bright, Linguistic Innovations in Karok, IJAL 18.53-62 (1952).

[113] [6a] Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, (New York, 1953). The book contains an extensive bibliography.

[113] [7] Ralph Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (New York, 1940).

[113] [8] M. J. Herskovits, Acculturation, (Augustin, New York, 1938); p. 107 ff. and p. 128.

[113] [8a] Hall's work on Haitian creole has done much to remedy this deficiency. See Robert A. Hall, Jr., Haitian Creole: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary, Memoirs AAA 74 (1953).

[113] [9] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada, 1916).

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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession
178 from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10]
175 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year
177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

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177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely
[231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as
175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with
648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable
721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as
175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a
648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

[721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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[113] [175] [178] Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

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175 This dark picture of conflict is tempered
648 somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo,
[728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became
[439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer,
[439] Bourgmont, had made contact with the Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).
[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38:157–76 (1935).
[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[10] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural
175 products. It seems probable that the French,
648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with
[721] firearms, also incited them to attack the Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[11] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[12] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[10] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[11] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[12] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

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648 423 and child was allotted 160 acres with sections set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness during the trust period. Thus the Comanche became citizens under the allotment system and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since these allotments were widely scattered and interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

423 [657] [641] [177] [621]

175 177 178 In summary, the history of Comanche contacts with Western culture shows an early period of vacillating hostile and friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the middle of the nineteenth century. That date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

177 178

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[32] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

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[32] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

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197 has linked Uto-Aztecan with Tanoan-Kiowa in an Aztec-Tanoan group,[27] and Whorf and Trager have presented evidence for a relationship between Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan.[28] The Voegelins have more recently designated twelve Uto-Aztecan languages, many comprising several mutually intelligible dialects, as spoken in what is now the United States.[29] Mexico claims a considerable number more, including Nahuatl.[30] These are all by no means equally distinct languages, and the actual degree of relationship among them remains to be worked out;[31] however the affinity between Comanche and Shoshone was recognized at least as early as 1862.[32] The vocabularies collected by Steward[33] for a number of Shoshone dialects show a pronounced similarity both among themselves and to Comanche. The two are essentially dialects of the same language, a fact recognized by their native speakers. As one informant put it, "The Shoshone speak as the Comanche spoke long, long ago". In

[113] [27] Benjamin L. Whorf, The Comparative Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan, AA 37.600-08 (1935).

[113] [28] Edward Sapir, Central and North American Languages, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Ed., 5.138-41 (London and New York, 1929).

[113] [28] Benjamin L. Whorf and G. L. Trager, The Relationship of Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan, AA 39.609-24 (1937).

[113] [29] C. F. Voegelin and E. W. Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages, Publ. of the American Ethnological Society, Publ. 20 (n.d.).

[113] [30] A. L. Kroeber, Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8, (Berkeley, Calif., 1934); and J. Alden Mason, The Classification of the Sonoran Languages (with an Appendix by B. L. Whorf), Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber, (Berkeley, Calif., 1936).

[113] [31] C. F. Voegelin, North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and their Genetic Relationships, Language, Culture, and Personality, pp. 15-40 (p. 21) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[113] [32] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology, p. 473 (London, 1862).

[33] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, pp. 272 ff. (1938).

[cf. 145-B]

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another place Steward[14] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (ʔ, h).

A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ẖ, occurs only in baby language[15] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ʔ and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[16] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced other phonemes (ʔ or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[14] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100:445-502, p. 478 (1940).

[15] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14:11-4 (1948).

[16] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15:229-31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

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194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^y and g^w commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^w respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc."

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tïvo·pï *paper*—nïrïvo·pï *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often laxily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final ï in such a word as tïhkapï *food*, is often heard as simple aspiration. Also, other consonants may occur
[192] finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sï *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

[113] " Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175-88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

[p. 146-B]

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to Ĭ, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., puːkU *horse*, navukuwáˑʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĬsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ie, ĭi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔivĭiʔ *mole*; haicĬ *friend*; coapĬ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinīˑ *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[3] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkóˑʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahkáˑʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyáˑʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 **3.3.** Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [3] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297–301 (1953).

[p. 147-B]

193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransitivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[39] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands; direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object (knife, penis, stick), direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wī?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kīhpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[40] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/nava· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

194 [39] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

197 113 [40] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[p. 148-A]

193 **3.4. Infixation, if indeed it may be so**
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of
affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the
193 infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĭ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and
cihi·mA, imperative form. But the follow-
ing imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy*
and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and
kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative
is phonetically the most economical form a
root can take. All the above examples can
also be interpreted as the phonetically
mechanical results of an inflectional verbal
suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel),
used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes
include the nominalizers, -pĭ and -?, which
193 make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
192 highly productive of new word formations
in Comanche and figure importantly in the
names of new cultural acquisitions: tihka
eat plus -? gives tihka? *fork*; nohko *bake*
plus -pĭ gives nohkopĭ *bread, baked goods*.

[196] There is also a series of derivational
classificatory suffixes which make nouns of
bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* +
-pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives
mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĭ gives piapĭ
big one; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĭ) gives ?ekavItĭ
red one; yĭva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĭva·
ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are deri-
vational is shown by the fact that they are
lost when combining with other stems; e.g.,
hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye*
(*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

● [113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93-9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.203-12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

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121 contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[46] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[47] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 There are four principal means by which
197 a language may enlarge its vocabulary to
192 accommodate new objects and ideas. These neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [46] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[46] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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197 may be utilised; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[53] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[54]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of
192 function and symbolic meaning regardless of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[57] *§ pia?e·tI *gun (big bow)*; *ta·vE *clock, time of day (sun* compare ta·venItI *day)*; *§ nava·kA *bullet, lead (its arrow)*.

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: ꝑiavuharavenItI *4th of July (big puha day)*; *puharaivo·? *doctor, minister, Christian (puha white man)*; puharavenItI *Sunday (puha day)*; puharekIraivo·? *minister (puha talk white man)*; puharivo·pI *Bible (puha book, writing)*; *puhahuvia *hymn (puha song)*; puhaknI[58]

[113] [53] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [54] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21-48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [57] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ?, a, e, i, I, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked § appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[58] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

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192 *pihna·? *sugar, candy (sweet)*,[42] *pihcī?nīa? *straight pin* (related to pihcinīarA *a person with wide, fat buttocks.* Pin so called because of butt end); ǂpisapĬ *paint, rouge, powder, compact* (*paint*, chiefly ochres); pisipĬ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, any pussy infection, rotten flesh*); pima?nika? *menstrual napkin* (*push into the buttocks with the hand* [formerly used old buffalo robes]); pokopI *candy, nuts, berries, fruit*, etc. (*edible part of plant*); *ǂpu·kU *horse* (singular only) (*pet*);[43] *pu?E *road* (*trail, path*); *puhiwI *money, dollar, iron, metal* (*metal, ore*); *tahka?mi·cA *cucumber, "blueballs", a venereal disease* (*gland* [at groin]); tanesi? *king* (*playing cards*), *fetlock*, also a decoration hanging from knee on dress leggings; *tĭrani? *hammer, sledge* (*hammer* [ta·nI *conquer!*, imperative]); tĭciwai? *ramrod* (*a probe* [especially for marrow]); *tĭ·hka?a? *hatchet, axe* (*hatchet*); *tĭmuhkU *cord, rope*; *reins* (cording [narĭmuhkU *harness, reins, its rope*]); tĭ·wai? *solitaire* (card game) (*to drive game* [as from bushes with a stick]); ǂto?I *tobacco pipe* (*pipe*); *tu?re? *rubber, elastic* (*leech*); kahpE *bed* (*bed*); kĭ·kA *onion* (*wild onion*); kĭmina- *break* (*a limb*) with machinery or automobile; also, as formerly, to break with the teeth; korohkO *scarf, cravat, yoke, collar* (*neckpiece*); kohca·pĬ *pudding, mush, gravy, fruit jam*, etc. (esp., mesquite bean mush [kohca· *to stir*]); kohinehkI *belt* (*sash with long tassel*); kupIta? *electric light, flashlight* (kupIta- *light the fire*); kwasu? *shirt, dress* (*dress of deer or antelope skins*); kwitacI *sausage* (*big intestine*); kwinumapĬ *drunk* (*dizzy*); cahani- *drive* (horse or automobile); *straigh-*

[113] [42] Marcy gives melon as the meaning in 1851. The same word, written pɡi-n-hH', appearing in Kiowa is translated as "honey, sugar, anything sweet"; John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE-B 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928). Possibly both are loanwords from panocha, a coarse Mexican sugar.

[113] [43] Also in Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), written, bunko.

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192 193 197 **and nïmï-** *Indians' or ours,* **are often prefixed** to a word whose meaning has been extended.[47] The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when 192 the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts:

ʔaʔahkáˑʔ *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nïmïʔaʔahkáˑʔ *devil's claw,* a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ʔaˑ *horn,* katÏ *got*). ʔamawóˑʔ *apple*; nïmïʔamawóˑʔ *red-haw* (tïrïe- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nïmï-). *tïsaaI *perfume*; nïmïrïsasI *a native perfume made from a plant.* *kahnI *house;* *nïmïkahnI[48] *tipi.* konO *cradle;* also now, *coffin;* nïmïkonO *cradle-board.* *kuhcU[48] *cattle* (*pimoroˑʔ, however, is more common);

Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] [47] Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivoˑ, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert S. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391-403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintuˑ Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, p. 436 (1943).

[48] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

[49] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotao for bison.

192 sources of the latter type in English."
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?n·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·" *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the formation of words by incremental affixation
192 tion of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:" pacahto?i? *pump (raise water forcefully with the hands)* [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn (turned inside out by heat)* [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikī? *bicycle (make one's self go with the feet)* [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kī, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] " E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

" Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] " In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

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192 mental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; papicihtĭpka? *hairpin* (*fasten hair with something pointed*) but papivĭ *head hair*; pavoko?a·wO *tumbler, glass* (*clear or transparent cup*); pavoko?awovici? *nursing bottle* (*glass breast*); patĭwiarĭ·pI *turquoise* (*algae-colored rock*) [pa *water* + tĭ-, intransitivizer + wia *wear out*, + tĭ·pI *stone, rock*]; pakĭco?nika? *beaver fur hat* (*beaver hat*); pahorapĭ *well* [pa *water* + hora *dig* + -pĭ, nominalizer]; pahte?e·? *whip* (*customarily cracks*); pa?muci? *old style saddle* [pa?- *long* + muci- *sharp* + -?, nominalizer]; pawovivu·kU"[1] *boat* (*water board horse*); pekwinarohtĭman *canned salmon, or sardines* (*fish canned*); pia?ohapItĭ·? *grapefruit* (*big orange*); piakwAsu? *coat* (*big shirt*); piahuhcu?raivo·? *Republican* (*eagle White man*); ko·korá?a·raivo·? *Democrat* (*rooster White man*) [The eagle and the rooster were early party emblems]. pikakUsA *chaps* (*leather leggings*); pikwsi·? *single buggy* This was translated as *nothing behind*. [pi- *buttocks*; and kwasI *tail*; also pikwsinakwĭ *back end*]; pici?wihpara? *brassiere* (*spread over breasts*); *picohkO *trousers* (*buttocks covered*); *pisayune? *tin, tin can, canned goods* (*paint falls off*) (pisapĭ *paint* + yuman *fall off* (?). Another informant thought this referred to a soft noise from tin rolled up and strung and put on moccasins]. pizimarokoˈrĭ·pI *opal* (*rainbow, sore thumb, stone*) [Belief that if one pointed to the rainbow, one's finger would rot and fall off]; *piso·nA· *cushion, rug* (*buttock pad*); pihivoa *type of modern dress; petticoat* (*spread out from the buttocks fan-wise*); ⅋ *pimoró·? *cattle* (*graze backwards* (?)); pimoró·?sari·? *collie* (*cattle dog*); *pihnárohtiya? *cake, sweet roll* (sweet bread); pihná·nohkopĭ *cake, cookies* (sweet baked); pieriyaimuya?ke? *radio* (ghost music); piesĭnahanipĭ *ready made* (*clothes*) [pie- *old*,

[821]

[113]

[1] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), writes wo-we-poke (*wovivu·kU wooden or board horse*) for boat.

[p. 223-A]

192 konO *coffin (dead person's cradle)*; tï·yUsikeʔ *harrow* [tï- + yusiketĭ *fine, granular*]; tokĭnE *thresh by having horses trample grain covered with a cloth; shell corn* [to- *with the fist or hoof* + kĭne]; tosakïmaʔ *blanket with white edges, or cut in two and sewn together to get stripe down the center (white edge)*; *tosaknĭ *tent, canvas (white tipi, house)*; *tosahketukaʔ candle (*white *lamp, doesn't go out)*; tosahnarsO *flour sack (white sack)*; tosawanahĭ *sheet, bedspread (white blanket)*; tosoyokiʔ *powder (shake out with the fist)*; tuʔrekwasuʔ *sweater (rubber-shirt)*; tuʔrecinarsO *condom (rubber foreskin)*; tuʔrenapĭ *rubbers, overshoes (rubber shoes)*; tuivihciwaikin *passenger-car (young men's wagon)* [JC said people dress up like young men to board them]; *tu·pa· *coffee (black water)*; *tu·pihna·ʔ *molasses, chocolate (black sweet)*; tu·puʔE *asphalt road (black road)*; *tu·taivo· *Negro (black White man)*; *tukaʔ[73] *lamp* [see tu·kA *put out;* possibly shortened from ketukaʔ *doesn't go out*]; tu·ku·nA *coal (black fire)*; tumarï·kI *to fingerprint a check, document or record (make a black mark)*; tu·naivihna·ʔ[74] *molasses (viscous sweet)*; tu·wihtuaʔ *iron kettle (black bucket)*.

kahniʔaitaivo· *carpenter (house make White man)*; kahnivusiʔA *bedbug (house louse)*; kahnitukaʔe·tĭ *fire extinguisher (house customarily puts out fire)*; kahnisiʔyunaʔ *shingles (house flat pieces piled up)*; kahnihavinA *street (houses stretched along)*; kahninahï·kI *porch (house shade)*; kahniwoʔnokanA *street (house canyon)*; *ketukaʔanáva· *kerosene (lamp's water)*; kwsakhnI *jail (mean, bad house)*; kïhtavicipĭ *cheese (hard milk)*; kïhtawanapĭ *denim (hard cloth)*; koʔavicipĭ *cheese (groin milk)*; kbʔakawanaʔ *cheese (groin smell)*; *kovetïvo·pĭ *portrait (face paper, picture)*; koveca?nikaʔ *mask*

[113]

[73] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1905), gives ka to kah nots ah yah knt, ketukanacayakatĭ, (ketuka- *lamp* + na-, reflexive + ca- + ya *carry* + -katĭ *possessor of; lantern*).

[74] ibid, gives saw ny pee nah, so·naivihna·ʔ *very stinky sweet.*

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192 words.[82] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[83]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[84] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[85]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[86] and they

[82] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [83] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[84] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[85] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [86] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

121 are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into
197 the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke
197 a Southern American dialect. Thus, the
194 r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekiʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
č	c	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ð	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66–72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148–153 (1938); E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdes, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34–44 (1937).

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197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ĭ, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, es-
197 pecially those of an earlier vintage and in general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.[A] Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ? plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[87] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[88] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[89] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche
192 where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavirí? and po?ro? from Spanish, and paisé? and wo·nitĭn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [87] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[88] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[89] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]

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197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nĬ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

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192 552 kaiwanï· *Kiowa* (-nï· may be translated as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* ciksó·nï· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* so-soni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nï· *Crow (horned people);* ?eníkwita? *Mescalero Apache (grey feces);* papicimina? *Sioux (head unjointed);* ta·ni?nï· *Kiowa-Apache (spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho (dog eaters);* sianavo· *Cheyenne (feather striped* from their arrows).

197 648 Early and brief French contacts have left no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and 197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread 198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99] 197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the [192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you,* seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 192 197 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

[113]

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192 197 [60] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[102] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nī· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĬ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĬ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĬ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matïma? tïmï· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nïrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nïhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

[113] [102] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĬ, *for corn.*

[103] George Hersog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?I?6-pI *what is planted,* for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·ï', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kITihkapI *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tI *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[168] in the 1830s [191] [563] noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. [563] At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tie?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

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[168] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

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192 197 synonyms for English loans. Moreover, several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century. 000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arizona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15; 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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000 hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

121 **4.6.** Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

192 197 It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·ʔ *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 68–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 navinain *monte* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nihW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nï· *three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/rihima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItĬ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasïmihtĬ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sïmihtĬ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usíkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tïmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sïmïrínamanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sïmïyú·tïmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetïmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sïmïnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sïmï- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokorícï·pĬ *mile* (*one land count*); sihï?awotíhpetĬ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kï? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kï, causative + -?); sïmïnáraya·kï? *pound* (*one scaled*); sïïnïrávekwihne?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pïpekuma?írï?i·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mïarïvo·pĬ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sïmïvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItĬ[131] *Sunday* (see **4.1**); tapúharai/hapíeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sihi?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

[805] [805] [171] [113]

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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old
561 people over 60 speak little or no English, while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few
191 Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any
[191] individual Comanche provides what is probably a fairly reliable index of his relative acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[188a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

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[188a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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[2] siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects [9] of acculturation. It may be noted that in [24] speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

[9] The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version [177] of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma-. J pronounced jello, jero-, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

[140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 13: 175-188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

[13]

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191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and
195 there has been a direct extension of English
[177] word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na⁹ro⁹ipɪ̈ (na-, reflexive + to⁹i *come out*, + -pɪ̈, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapɪ̈, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kihtavicipɪ̈, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko⁹avicipɪ̈ *groin milk*, or ko⁹akwana⁹ *groin smell*. Similarly, [551] the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

[142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

(113)

[p. 242-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass
[434] money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

[113]

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551 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from tïtarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu·wiká·? *crow*, and pïhïmahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

551 177 Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The [128] accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[147] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. 551 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[147] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941).

● [113]

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16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11, Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.[148]

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Bessie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are *Gary Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), tavetosavItI *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

[113] [171]

[148] Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

1. John 8280	11. Samuel 1628
2. William 7611	12. Frank 1570
3. James 4259	13. Harry 1112
4. Charles 4253	14. Richard 1027
5. George 4171	15. Francis 1003
6. Thomas 2710	16. Frederick 1000
7. Henry 2366	17. Walter 970
8. Robert 2303	18. David 967
9. Joseph 2266	19. Arthur 904
10. Edward 1997	20. Albert 862

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 18% of the total, including double names 23%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

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where one might expect to find the greatest proliferation of abstract terms is likewise relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture. Linton mentions the great preoccupation of the Comanche with the dog,[130] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[131] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed, the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[132] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

The list of terms omitted from the acculturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-

[130] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428-29 (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[131] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[132] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[p.252-A]

197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[113] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[114]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[115]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113]

[113] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153-64 (1926).

[114] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335-45 (1948).

[115] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

[p.253-A]

12] language through linguistic borrowing or indirectly through modifications in the native language introduced by bilingual speakers; internally, due to extensions of meaning, additions to the vocabulary, or other linguistic adjustments which may in turn initiate a whole series of compensatory phonetic or grammatical shifts following new analogy patterns.[156]

8. Semantic changes are accomplished by extending or modifying meaning or by adding to the vocabulary.

9. Vocabulary is increased by: coining new words; incorporating loanwords; translation-borrowing.[157]

10. No knowledge of the language of an impinging culture is required for meaning extensions or new coinages and only native linguistic materials are used. This is designated PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. A minimum knowledge of a donor language is necessary for linguistic borrowing in the form of either loanwords or loan-translations. Such linguistic borrowing is termed SECONDARY ACCOMMODATION.

11. The extent to which any given language uses primary or secondary linguistic accommodation, and the several devices subsumed under these terms, in handling new cultural acquisitions depends upon both social, cultural and historical factors and upon the structural characteristics of the language.

7.3. The twenty numbered propositions which comprise the final section of this paper should be viewed as essentially hypotheses rather than conclusions. While some have face validity and others are sup-

[156] Ways in which linguistic changes may be effected are discussed by Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles E. Osgood, and Sol Saporta in their section on Language Change in Psycholinguistics, Charles E. Osgood and Thomas E. Sebeok, Editors, Memoir 10 of IJAL (1954).

[157] While these three devices appear to the writer to constitute the principal ways of adding to the vocabulary, they may of course be broken down into various sub-types. See, for example, Einar Haugen, The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing, Lg. 26.210-31 (1950).

[113]

[113]

[p.253-B]

121 177 192 descriptive terms for introduced articles, such as the *beaver hat, cauldron*, or types of blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche 121 192 characteristically describe many new traits, particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than 121 static ones of color, size and shape. One is tempted to speculate whether this may be 181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey* 192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mï (nï·mï *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu-' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

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121 The caveat that meanings do
825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[162] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ?evikuyú·si? *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·? *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for
121 opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence
174 one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[163]

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[162] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[163] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224-235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

•[113]

[p. 256-B]

Comanche Texts

wihnu$_2$ urii$_3$ nʌkʌrʌkika$_4$. surʌ$_5$ piahuuhpihta$_6$ yaarʌ$_7$. 539
sʌkwenaisʌ$_8$ urii$_9$ wʌhtókwʌkina$_{10}$. 13. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$
urʌʌmatʌ$_2$ tasʌkapunihtsi$_3$. oha?ahnakati$_4$ buninu$_5$.
14. surʌkʌse?$_1$. --tunehtsʌʌka$_2$ 15. tai$_1$ wʌhtokwʌkitʌ$_2$
ma?$_3$ -- 16. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌhu$_3$ turunehtsanu$_4$.
17. pʌʌ$_1$ muhyi$_2$ urii$_3$ mʌnihkakusʌ$_4$ surʌ$_5$ oha?ahnaka-
tʌ$_6$ sooti$_7$ wʌhtókwenu$_8$ 18. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ piakoh-
toohtsi$_3$, surii$_4$ tʌ?rikúu?nii$_5$ kusʃwʌhpimanu$_6$ 19. pʌ$_1$
wʌhtokwe?nii$_2$ suurʌ$_3$ sukʌhu$_4$ tsaahtʌhkanu$_5$.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

12. Then$_2$, as$_4$ they$_3$ began to dance$_4$, that one$_1$, takes$_7$ a big club$_6$, from one end$_8$ /that one$_5$/ came[1] clubbing$_{10}$ them$_9$. 13. One$_1$ of them$_2$ peeping$_3$ saw$_5$ the coyote$_4$. 14. That one$_1$ (said), --Everyone run$_2$. 15. He$_5$ is coming clubbing$_2$ us$_1$.-- 16. Those ones$_1$ ran$_4$ to$_3$ their$_2$ houses$_3$. 17. As$_4$ they$_3$ are still unable$_4$ (to open) their$_1$ door$_2$, that$_5$ coyote$_6$ clubbed$_8$ many$_7$. 18. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ making a big fire$_3$, roasted in ashes$_6$ those$_4$ prairie dogs$_5$. 19. There$_4$ that one$_3$ ate good of$_5$ his$_1$ clubbings$_2$.

[1]In the article, Voiceless Vowels in Comanche, Canonge, IJAL, Vol. 23, No. 2, April, 1957, under 1, Contrast in Identical Environment, the last sentence should be amended to say that the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing has the semantic implication of 'stem meaning resulting in or occurring simultaneously with action indicated by the following morpheme'. In the article, wʌhtókwʌkina would have been translated 'clubbed and came on'. Actually, a translation 'came clubbing'or 'clubbing as he came' is entirely legitimate. [119]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

[Document I]. Writers, in lauding the accomplishment of Governor Anza in bringing the Western Comanches to terms, have often neglected the fact that a similar peace was also made with the Orientales. 175

The treaty translated below was included in a general report on Indian affairs made by Pedro de Nava, Commandant General of the Interior Provinces (1792-1800) to the Viceroy of New Spain, Miguel Joseph de Azanza. As Nava notes, harmony between Spanish citizens and the Comanches had been maintained up to the time of his writing (1799) with a few minor exceptions. [648]

Originals of Documents I and II rest in the Provincias Internas section of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City. Photocopies of these are available in the Coronado Room of the University of New Mexico Library. The remaining five documents are found in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. 113

—Marc Simmons

[p. 18 is blank]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Notes

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[1] Senate Executive Document, no. 2, 36 Congress, 1st Session, vol. II, p. 370.

[2] "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (1928), vol. LXXX, no. 7, p. 13.

[3] The words in the original document at this point read *ambas Navajos*. This would seem to be a slip of the pen, as the remainder of the sentence obviously requires *ambas Naciones*.

Documents

Document One: Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City; Provincias Internas, volume 12.

Document Two: AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 64, part 3.

Document Three: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe; no. 1234.

Document Four: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 1247.

Document Five: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 1272 (2).

Document Six: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 1925 (30).

Document Seven: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 2819.

[p. 40 is blank]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Suggested Reading

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Chaves, Amado. "The Defeat of the Comanches in 1716." No. 8 of the *Publications of the Historical Society of New Mexico.*

Hyde, George E. *Indians of the High Plains, From the Prehistoric Period to the Coming of the Europeans.* Norman 1959.

Newcomb, W. W., Jr. *The Indians of Texas, From Prehistoric to Modern Times.* Austin, 1962.

Richardson, Rupert N. *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement.* Glendale, 1933.

Thomas, Alfred B. *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727.* Norman, 1935.

———. *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, 1777-1778.* Norman, 1932.

———. *The Plains Indians and New Mexico.* Albuquerque, 1940.

Wallace, Earnest and E. Adamson Hoebel. *The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains.* Norman, 1952.

[p. 42 is blank]

14: Riggs L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight*, where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual 121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long*, paʻpaʔatə *long(redup.)*. In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔi-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem təʻka-), təkəənəninəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem təkə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely 197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of 197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106-109 (1949).

[13]

[p. 230-B]

197 pirate consonants, while consonant clusters are not at all rare in the Uto-Aztecan lan-
197 guage family. Comanche preaspirates may
197 correspond to simple consonants in cognate
194 languages. cf. So. Paiute yəŋə, Com. yə'nə? *porcupine*; Tübatulabal tək-, So. Paiute təq.a, Com. tə'ka- *to eat*; So. Paiute qan.i-, Tübatulabal hani, Com. ka'nI *house*; So. Paiute ap.əi-, Com. ?a'pəi- *to sleep (sing.)*; So. Paiute aq.əi-, Com. ?ə'ko?i- *to sleep (pl.)*.

194 **4.** Vowels. Only one analysis is presented for the vowels; these are voiced and voiceless.

Voiced: i, e, a, o, u, ə. Vowel ə is a high, unrounded vowel varying from central to back position. Vowels i, e, o, u vary from close to open varieties; a varies to [ʌ] in unstressed position. Examples: piapə *big*, tena'pə? *man*, papI *hair*, sonipə *grass*, hununI *creek*, wənə-nə? *I stop*.

Voiceless: I, E, A, O, U, ə. These are of the same quality as their corresponding voiced vowels. In normal speech, utterance medial ə appears somewhat shorter than other voiceless vowels.[5] Examples: ?ekaʁItə

[5] This fact has given rise to still another interpretation of Comanche phonemes: namely that of considering voiceless, when occurring in medial position, as aspiration of the preceding consonant. See Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93-99 (1949), where the form təkəbənitu-?i-nə? *I will always be eating*, is transcribed [tikʰ-bInitu?i-ni?]. This interpretation admits of a

[113]

[p. 231-A]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that there are rhythm patterns which are arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

121 194 emphatic stress and attentative rhythm[1] (and by particles), but pitch contour is conditioned by other factors.

121 A minimum of intonational contrast has previously been reported for Oto,[2] another Indian language of Oklahoma, but languages with little or no contrastive pitch system have not generally been described. In Oto intonational contrast occurs only on exclamations. Comanche however has not even that minimum of pitch contrast. [194]

In discussing the nature of intonation, Bolinger has declared that it is 'both conventional and instinctive', that the physiological tension which is the basis of intonation can be 'trained out' (which, he feels, accounts for lexical pitch systems), and that English intonation is not an arbitrary structure because we do not 'occasionally deliberate about our choice of contours'.[3]

On the other hand, without denying the physiological basis of any part of speech or denying the close physiological association of GRADIENT differences of pitch, or of intensity of stress, this paper would lend weight to an understanding of the 'arbitrariness' of intonational SYSTEMS where they occur. Languages range from the complicated and contrastive system structure of English intonation to the lack of any such contrastive structure in Comanche. 121 194

The data presented here will show that in Comanche length, stress, and rhythm are interconnected in their distribution and mutual conditioning, patterning together in the total phonological structure,[4] and that

[1] A distinctive rhythm pattern with meaning 'attention here' (see 2).

[2] Kenneth L. Pike, The Intonation of American English, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 21. [113]

[3] Dwight E. Bolinger, Comments on Pike's American English Intonation, SIL 5.69–70 (1947). [113]

[4] For a tentative list of other Comanche Pho- [113]

194 [121] an adequate description of the phonology must include phonemic rhythm. The prosodic features operate on two levels, the lexical level and the level of the larger phonological and rhythm group. Examples of the interdependence of these features may be seen in that non-phonemic pitch is conditioned by lexical stress and vowel length. Emphatic stress furthermore potentially coincides in point of occurrence with lexical stress. Rhythm is also generally associated with lexical stress in its placement, and phonetically long vowels may be contrasted with phonetically short vowels only within the limits of rhythm. The details of the system follow.

194 [104] 1. Comanche utterances are characterized by a marked rhythm which consists of a sequence of secondary rhythm stresses with approximately the same timing between stresses. A rhythm unit is defined as the sequence of syllables grouped together by such stresses or pause. The boundaries of rhythm units are marked with a subscript tic /ˌ/. ˌ'tenahˌpɪ'ˌcaˀˌ'pɪbiaˌnakɪˌkatɪˌ'puˀ-etu ˌ'miˀaarɪ̈ *The man with the big ears is walking in the road.* ˌ'nameˌwahˌsɪ̈k*ɪˌtɪ̈ ˌ'pɪbiaˌkahniˌnɪ̈ *eight big houses.*

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[113] [104] nemes see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949) fn. 2. The transcription used in this paper will follow that of Formulae except for the addition of /ˌ/ anticipation pause, /./ non-anticipation pause, /ᴴ/ emphatic stress, /ˌ/ rhythm marker, and /ᵢᵢ/ attentative rhythm, all defined in this paper. Hyphen (-) will not be used here because its only significance in Formulae is for certain morphological boundaries.

[113] For other views on Comanche segmental phonemes see Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-231 (1949). The present analysis parallels generally her Analysis A in treatment of consonants, but differs from it in finding /n/ in 'utterance final' position (see text sentences 5, 8, 17, 18, 21 of this paper) in addition to her /ʔ/ and /h/ (p. 229), and in interpreting [ɪ̈], when non-syllabic, as non-phonemic aspiration of a preceding consonant. This interpretation results in a larger number of consonant clusters as inspection of the data will show.

601 195 namí·ʔ *younger sister* [námI address form; námiʔ reference form].

taká·ʔ *sibling* [tákA address form; tákaʔ reference form].

tamí·ʔ *younger brother* [támI address form; tamiʔ reference form].

paví·ʔ *older brother* [pávI address form; páviʔ reference form].

pahá·ʔ *father's sister* [páhA address form; páhaʔ reference form].

kakú·ʔ *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; kákuʔ reference form].

tokó·ʔ, totó·ʔ *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tókoʔ reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kĭnú·ʔ *father's father* [kĭ̂nU address form; kĭ̂nuʔ reference form]; hucí·ʔ *father's mother* [húcI address form; húciʔ reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first used for all grandparents. This suggests matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's. [591]

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned. 195 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -eI and the related -ɛI to words; e.g., haicí·ʔ for haíc *friend*. 193 Reduplication,[2] as might be inferred

[2] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child. [113]

[p. 12-B]

[12] Language development poses several problems for the genetic psychologist and anthropologist as well as the linguist. Some baby words are to be found in all languages, written and unwritten,[3] though not commonly as formalized and in such abundance as in Comanche. In all these baby words two facts claim attention: the universality of reduplication, and the use of simple phonemes, especially the labials p, b, m, the stops t, d, k, g, and cardinal vowels. The use of simpler phonemes is probably explained in terms of the baby's limited ability to manipulate his speech organs, since learning to speak even one's native tongue involves the induction of an intricate set of motor habits and is a maturational process comparable to acquiring such other skills as walking or skipping. But the problem of reduplication is not so easy of solution. Jespersen has this to say, "It is simpler and more natural to refer these reduplications to the pleasure always felt in repeating the same muscular action until one is tired."[4] But this seems an oversimple explanation. A natural tendency to reduplicate may perhaps be granted and seems to be supported by the oft-made observation of the infant's babbling repetition of the same sound. This proclivity seems to have been tacitly recognized by adults and conventionalized by them in reduplicated baby words.[5]

[113] [3] The following references list baby words: Wayne Dennis, The Hopi Child, 1940, p. 33; also words from Shungopavi, Zuni, and Cochiti (personal correspondence); A. F. Chamberlain, Notes on Indian Child-Language, AA, o. s., 3.237-41 (1890), 6.321-2 (1893); Edward Sapir, Nootka Baby Words, IJAL 5.118-9; Leo J. Frachtenberg, Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute, IJAL, 1.295-9; A. L. Kroeber, op. cit.; Otto Jespersen, Language, Book II, The Child, pp. 103-88 (1923).

[4] Jespersen, op. cit., p. 100.

[113] [5] Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, p. 36 ff., discusses the child's speech education in Manus, and mentions the endless repetition back and forth between adult and baby of the same monosyllable. She says, "This random affection for repetitiousness makes an excellent atmosphere in which the child acquires facility in speech". p. 37.

[p. 13-B]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
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[2] As the growth of speech facility parallels to a marked degree the maturation of the child's intellectual capacities, one might ask how comparative speech phenomena reflect this. Does it take longer for a primitive child who has to learn a highly complex language, such as many North American Indian languages, to gain control of his language than, say, a Chinese or American child?[6] At what age is the primitive child capable of making the subtle analogical formations[7] that many primitive languages require?

Some knowledge of children's speech development and baby words seems essential for the anthropologist or psychologist interested in problems of personality development and character structure. From the vocabulary itself one can form some idea of the child's world in a given culture; what objects [863] and affects impinge upon it. Discipline and attitudes are reflected, as in Comanche where

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, who has made extensive observations on Navaho children, feels that the Navaho child, as compared with the English-speaking child of the same age, is somewhat retarded in acquiring equal facility with his extremely difficult language.

[7] See Leonard Bloomfield, Language, pp. 275 ff. (1933), and Chapter X of Edgar H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science (1947). [113]

[p. 14-A]

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems [858] [171] true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940). [113]

[9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction. [113]

[p. 14-B]

48: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians, and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food, clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945.

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omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (5 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

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by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a common tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt, who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, *op. cit.*; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

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were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality, and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 14, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, *op. cit.*, 346.

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177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each
[127] year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

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After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for grazing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to improve their farms. They had not yet learned the value of

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 236.

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

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money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1930 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1930.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCowan, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 22 pp., memo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

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Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise.

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-316.

[113]

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427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[65?] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken 427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians 434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with 465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income. 464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut 465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the 434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 18.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. During the depression years the government provided most of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural implements to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 192.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 355. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1872, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 60.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23]

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000.

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres.

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25]

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount-

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918.
24. Bruce, op. cit., sec. II, 18-19, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18.

20: Wallace H-4,5 ,.(1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

[575] [657] [251] men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with [342] [353] [251] [252] [251] [294] the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

[657] [871] [874] Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has [797] become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

[648] The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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[113] [113] 29. McCowa, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 14-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 220.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche N06

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875), 28-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1890, 186.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 871 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year [874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 871 657 658 For a few years the government increased annually the subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 353.

41. Methvin, *op. cit.*, 53.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 189; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 504. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.58; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanches NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants.

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51]

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52]

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to

51. Buntin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

114 "A series of letters originally addressed to Col. John Jamison, deceased, late Indian agent at Natchitoches." The first letter is headed "Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818." This was almost two years before Stephen Long crossed *Comancheria*, and more than two years were yet to elapse before Moses Austin sought permission of the Spanish authorities at San Antonio to settle Anglo-American colonists in Texas. The fifth letter was a reply to criticism of the article by the world-renowned naturalist and professor at Transylvania University, C. S. Rafinesque. Ranfinesque wrote in the June 19, 1824, issue of the *Literary Gazette*: "I have been much pleased with the accounts of the Comanches and Nabijos, . . . but regret that the writers have totally neglected to notice the languages of those nations, although this ought to claim the first attention in any account of Indian nations, being often the only clue to trace their origin and history. It is also wrong to give anonymous details of historical facts, while so much depends upon personal authority." Most of the reply to the criticism is of no significance; but one section is herein reproduced, since it is "A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language." The author of the account—David Gouverneur Burnet of Cincinnati, later to serve as the first president of the Republic of Texas—wrote from personal experiences of more than a year's residence among the Comanche Indians in Texas.

David Gouverneur Burnet was born on April 4, 1788, in Newark, New Jersey. The Burnet family was quite prominent. David's father was a noted physician and a member of the Continental Congress. One of his half-brothers was aide-de-camp to Washington and a close friend of Lafayette; another served as a member of the United States Senate, as an Ohio State Supreme Court Judge, and was elected a member of the French Academy of Science. His brother, Isaac, for twelve years was mayor of Cincinnati.[1]

Left an orphan at the age of three, David grew up under the guidance of his brothers, who saw that he received

113 1. Dorothy Louise Fields, "David Gouverneur Burnet," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLIX (October, 1945), pp. 218-232.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2]

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 169.

3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 132-3.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule, is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, p. 229.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains. 175 648 721

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas). 175 648

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover- 175 128

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas qe el Govr de la Prova de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el Sñr Comd Gral de las Ynterna le hase en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786: sobre varias circunstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin). [113]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
317 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who, because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?
624
[643] The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?
623
555 The command and superiority established by the two

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, 1933), 295-325.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

THE COMANCHE RESERVATION IN TEXAS

By Rupert N. Richardson

000 On the Clear Fork of the Brazos, about twenty miles north of Albany, Texas, may be seen the crumbling ruins of Old Camp Cooper, a Federal outpost of the late fifties. One of the buildings has been kept in repair and even yet serves as a residence; the very building which, of course, tradition has fixed as the headquarters of Robert E. Lee when he was in command of that post. The old post is often mentioned by writers of frontier history, but 657 the reason for its location at that point is apt to be forgotten. In May, 1855, the Comanche Indian reservation was established, the agency of which was located about two and one-half miles down the river from the point where the post was located about eight months later. The observer of our own times can find nothing of the remains of this agency but a few foundation stones, some cedar posts or pickets and a depression in the ground which seems to mark the site of an old cellar. However, the Indian home established here is a matter of more than local historical interest for it represented the first efforts of the United States Government to apply the reservation system to nomadic Indians of the plains. 121 The purpose of this paper is to give a review of this experiment and to take some notice of its significance in the frontier history of this region.

657 The reservation system had recently been tried with the Indians in California and was reported to be working successfully.[1] The plan was to confine the Indians within a comparatively small area and give them every advantage possible in the way of schooling and instruction by paid agents and employees of the Government. It was expected that at first the Indian Department would be obliged to sustain them almost wholly but that after a few years they could be made largely self supporting. In adopting this policy to solve the Comanche problem in Texas the United

[113] 1. Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas, 1845-1860," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX, 98.
Miss Koch's chapter, entitled "The Reservation System and Its Results," contains much information on both the Comanche and the Brazos reservations. The Brazos reservation was established for the sedentary Indians of Texas about fifty miles to the east.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew proportionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

> Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy, what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1495-1496.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date 1929 NO6 Com che NO6
(1854-1859) Te s

that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 206. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1866) p. 180.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 562.

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On the very day that the chief received this message he had been out with an army officer and a citizen in an effort to help them locate some horses which the Indians were accused of stealing. Whatever may have been his sins of the past the chief was then trying to preserve peace and control his people. But when this message came the Indian did not wait to investigate. The savage in him asserted itself. The information had come from a friend and, the fact is, it contained a great measure of truth! Orders for such a campaign had actually been received at Fort Chadburne and a few weeks later the expedition left under the command of Captain Calhoun. The orders called for a campaign against all Comanches, Northern and Southern alike, wherever they might be found. It is true that the officer did not propose actually to go on the reservation and attack the Indians there, but all Comanches met with outside of that vicinity were to be chastised.[7] The whole affair illustrates perfectly the lamentable lack of cooperation between the military and Indian forces so often in evidence along the frontier. It was unfortunate indeed that of all the times the army might have sent an expedition to punish the savages they chose to go at this critical time. News on the frontier was carried with the swiftness of a breeze and this report set the Indians wild. Sanaco fled with several hundred of his people and the sensible Ka-tem-e-see found it difficult to hold his own followers and prevent their joining in the stampede.

As soon as a measure of quiet was restored runners were sent to induce the renegades to return; but the band had scattered and only a few of these Comanches were ever reached and persuaded to return. Because of this confusion the Comanches were first located on the Brazos reservation, but they were taken to their home on the Clear Fork about the first of May, 1855. By June 10, they numbered 249 with others reported to be coming in.[8]

Rivalry of the Chiefs; the Wild Bands

Thus the Comanche reservation was inaugurated by a stam-

7. Hill to Neighbors, January 11, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. The affair produced quite a tilt between the army officers and the Indian agents. The army men never did deny the broad scope of the order they were to act under, but they did contend that the troops were not the cause of the run-away since the Indians fled long before the troops arrived in their vicinity.

8. Neighbors to Manypenny, June 10, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would re-
turn to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the
Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five war-
riors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village
in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and
neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian com-
munity. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was
looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action
and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or
"talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of
the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, vio-
lence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extra-
ordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at
the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were
satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the
Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty
186 their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that
these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the
interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

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10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

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mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas, to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to direct the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 8, 1858, Ibid.

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[657] [609] ience. When this was reported to Agent Leeper he called on the detail of troops stationed at Camp Cooper (only twenty men) to come at once. The lieutenant, Van Camp, came at once and surrounded the building. But to his chagrin and alarm, fifty or sixty warriors, armed with bows and guns, together with about thirty women and boys, armed with sticks and clubs, closed in around the cabin and took the side of the visitors so positively that Van Camp saw that a fight was ahead if he forced the issue. He ordered his men to prepare for action and a battle would have followed but for the fact that he discovered that his men had but one round of ammunition. They had used up nearly all their ammunition the day before in target practice. Thus, since it was impossible to apply force, all that was left for the lieutenant to do was to use persuasion. An agreement was patched up whereby the intruders were permitted to leave and this they did at once.

On the following day the Indians who had taken an active part in protecting the visitors came to Leeper and explained that they had offered resistance to the troops because they thought when they saw the soldiers approaching that all Indians on the reservation were going to be attacked and slain and they were determined to die fighting. Obviously they thought no such thing. Their bad faith in the whole matter was made more in evidence by their telling Leeper that they expected him to say that their "talk" was "good." In case he should not assent and say that their "talk" was "good" they would kill him and his family and leave the reservation.[13]

[609] Naturally the army officers and the Indian agents as well were sorely vexed with the Indians because of this affair. About all that can be said in defense of the savages is that they regarded the intruders as visitors and felt that to abandon them to the soldiers while they were guests at the reservation would be treachery. Some of the older men and women tearfully begged Ka-tem-e-see not to force the issue, just let the man escape and he would not bother them any more.

Inadequate Protection

The lack of proper protection by the troops was largely the

[113] 13. Leeper to Neighbors, August 31, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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cause of the fear and uncertainty that clouded the lives of the reservation wards. During most of the year 1855 there were no troops closer than Fort Belknap, about fifty miles away, and none but infantry there. However, early in January, 1856, Camp Cooper was established on the reservation and for a time the Indians enjoyed a sense of security.[14] But after a few months, ill feeling developed between the army officers and the Indian agents, each side charging that the other would not cooperate. Both the army and the Indian records are well supplied with documents containing charges, denials and counter charges, but it would not be expedient or profitable to follow the quarrel in detail. No doubt the agents were prone to do much complaining and fault finding while the army men responded with a patronizing attitude and cynical remarks about the "beef eating" policy of the Indian department. Once Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper took it upon himself to count the Indians or to attempt to count them and, according to the agent, almost caused a panic by proceeding without the assent and knowledge of the agents. The Indians were ever shy in the presence of soldiers and army officers. Naturally Leeper and Nighbors regarded Stoneman's conduct as an insult for it implied that their reports were not correct and that supplies were being fraudently drawn. Most of the army officers naturally sided with their fellow officer and the breach widened.[15]

In the spring of 1858, the army forces decided to remove Camp Cooper from its old location near the agency and Indian camps to a point some six or eight miles away from the agency. Leeper intimated that this was for the purpose of locating the post near a ranch owned by Captain Givens of the Second Dragoons.[16] However, it seems more plausible to conclude that the change was made as an act of spite and in retaliation against the charges made by the agents that the soldiers were not properly disciplined and were spending too much time among the Indians. When the agent protested at this move, complaining that he and his wards were left in a defenseless condition, the department commander of the

14. Baylor's report, September 13, 1854, Thirty-fourth Congress, Third Session, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 725. See also, George F. Price, *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry*, (New York, 1883), p. 4.

15. George Stoneman, Captain Second Cavalry, Camp Cooper, to Neighbors, September 6, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, December 8, 1857, Ibid.

16. Leeper to Neighbors, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

578 Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of ac-
627 tion had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his
657 side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that
683 might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs
627 and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

113 17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
113 18. Neighbers to Greenwood, June 10, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 634.
113 19. Hayler to Neighbers, June 8, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction
241 of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
657 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 20, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1854. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

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do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

22. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session. Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858. University of Texas photostat copies.

23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, ibid.

24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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626 623 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses, a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors. 622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty [657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took [434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people [166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this 648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source 648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their 657 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

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25. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 324.

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but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, however tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic. When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 8, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), bitterly assails the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1858, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

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657 . . . We will attack the reserve with a sufficient force to *break it up*
648 regardless of consequences.[27]

657 In January, 1858, a select committee of the state senate criticized severely the United States Indian policy in the state, referring to the fact that only a fraction of the Comanche Indians were located on the reservation and that friendly Indians were in the habit of passing and repassing into the settlements. Thus, they contended, wild Indians were mistaken for friendly ones and the white people were thus placed at the mercy of marauding bands. In addition to their recommendations for better military protection the committee stated that the agents should not permit the Indians to leave the reservations.[28]

[648] If these charges should be accepted at their face value they would represent within themselves rather convincing proof against the reservation Indians, but the records show that the whole issue was so completely shot through with bias and personal animosity that one is unable to know what to accept or reject. Reference has already been made to the ill feeling that pervailed between Robert S. Neighbors, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, and some of the army officers. Furthermore, John R. Baylor, who seems to have been dismissed from the Indian service through Neighbor's influence, led in much of the agitation.

657 But regardless of the merits or injustice of the charges brought
648 against the reservation Indians feeling against them became so widespread and bitter that in February, 1858, Neighbors asked that special instructions be given the military to protect the reserve Indians from attacks by citizens. In May he made a trip to Washington to place the matter before the officials there, alleging that the soldiers could not be depended upon to protect the Indians because of the indifference of their officers.[29] In October, the sheriff of Young county, armed with a writ issued by the county court, set forth from Belknap with a posse of about forty citizens to arrest

[113] 27. W. G. Preston and others to M. Leeper, February 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. John R. Baylor, Comanche agent until he was dismissed in May, 1857, is among the signers of this letter to Leeper.

[113] 28. "Report of Select Committee on Indian Affairs," State Gazette, Austin, March 27, 1858. George B. Erath, Henry E. McCulloch, Forbes Brittin, J. W. Throckmorton, and E. B. Scarborough composed the committee.

[113] 29. Neighbors to Mix, written at Washington, D. C., May 18, 1858. Neighbors complained that Major Paul, at Fort Belknap, Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper, and Captain Givens, who owned a ranch about six miles from the reservation, had opposed him all along and had tried to incite the citizens against the Indians.

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657 a reservation Indian charged with committing an attack on a young
648 man named Johnson some months before. On hearing of the approach of the party Neighbors called on Captain Palmer at Camp Cooper for an escort, advanced with the escort and met the sheriff's party some distance from the reservation and finally persuaded the party to give up their purpose. Whether the sheriff desisted because of the law in the case or by fear of the United States soldiers was a matter of doubt in the minds of observers.[30]

657 The complaints against the agents and the reservation Indians led to the sending of a special agent to investigate the administration of affairs. This agent, Thomas T. Hawkins, stayed at Camp Cooper for five weeks and every opportunity was given the complaintants to make their appearance and testify as to their charges; but few of them did so and nothing of consequence was submitted. Hawkins' report commended the agents and the administration of both reservations very highly. The critics alleged that the investigation was *ex parte* and that it was intended from the beginning to "whitewash" the record of the Indian administration in Texas; but we should have more sympathy with them if they had gone through with their part of the program and submitted whatever evidence they had.

Perhaps the strongest testimony in favor of the Comanches is
657 that of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson of the Ranger forces. They
648 came with their command to the vicinity of the reservation in the spring of 1858 when they and their officers were practically unanimous in the belief that the reservation Indians were committing depredations. These men were seasoned frontiersmen, had the frontiersmen's natural hatred and distrust of all Indians and were determined to secure evidence against the savages that could not be refuted. However, although they stayed for some time and sent out many scouts they found nothing whatever to confirm their suspicions. Ford states in his affidavit that when they found that
657 they could not secure any evidence against the Indians Captain Allison Nelson, one of the foremost critics of Neighbors, suggested to him that it would be very easy to make a trail leading into the reservation, but Ford would not hear to this. Nelson reported that the people in the vicinity of the reservation did not want it broken up and it was decided to abandon the idea. Ford quoted Nelson as

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30. See the letter of a correspondent to the New York Herald, November 16, 1858.

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657 stating that Neighbors had always escaped from the attacks of his enemies, but that men were after him "now" who were going to get his job.[31]

648 657 Naturally so much excitement and ill will inspired cruelty. In May, 1858, an inoffensive old Comanche was slain by a party of white men who wanted to get his horses and took advantage of the fact that he was away from the reservation without an escort or pass.[32] Late in December, a little party of friendly Indians from the Brazos reservation, known as Choctaw Tom's party, were attacked in their camp at night near Palo Pinto, whither they had gone by the consent of their agent and where they were regarded by the people of the immediate community as friendly and dependable. In fact, Choctaw Tom, the leader of the party, had returned to the reservation, but some of his people had remained near Palo Pinto in order to accept an invitation of some citizens of the community to stay a little longer and hunt bear with them.[33] The party that attacked the Indians was composed of citizens of Erath and neighboring counties further down the Brazos valley. They alleged that these Indians had been committing depredations but there is very little foundation for this contention.

The killing of these Indians created general excitement along the frontier because of the fear that their tribesmen would retaliate. The men who made the unwarranted attack on Choctaw Tom's party were never arrested although the governor by special proclamation called for their arrest. The grand jury of Palo Pinto county refused to indict the men but instead, indicted Jose Maria, the Anadarko chief, for horse stealing and in their report stated that the reservations were nuisances and that the people ought to take up arms against the Indians.[34] "Gatherings" of frontiersmen began to take place and many white men who had up to this time maintained a neutral or indifferent attitude began to join in the clamor against the savages. No doubt many of these men felt that the party from

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[113] 31. Affidavit of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson, November 22, 1858. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 32. Shirley to Barnard, May 6, 1858; Evans to Leeper, May 2, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 33. J. J. Storm, farmer at the Brazos agency, to Ross, December 28, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, Vol. I, p. 588. See also, the statement of Daniel Thornton, Peter Garland and others who attacked the Indians, made at Palo Pinto, January 4, 1859, Ibid, p. 606.

[113] 34. A copy of the report of the Grand Jury may be found in the Runnels Papers, Texas State Archives.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854- 859) Texas

Erath county had made a mistake in attacking the peaceful Indians, but they believed that the kinsmen of these Indians as well as the Comanches would retaliate and that there could be no peace on the frontier until both reservations were broken up. The agitators took advantage of this state of mind and never lost an opportunity to appeal to the fears and prejudices of the frontier people. It must not be understood that these men were "the very worst frontier characters" as the Indians agents sometimes charged. Among their leaders were John R. Baylor, former Indian agent; Peter Garland, of Erath county; R. W. Pollard, of Palo Pinto county; J. B. (Buck) Barry, of Bosque county, all prominent citizens in their communities and highly regarded by most of their neighbors. The years of bitter struggle with the Indians had hardened the hearts of the frontier people. As one of the more conservative of them has written in his memoirs, the frontier people were "always crazed at the sight of Indians and determined to kill,"[35] and when the safety of their families was involved they were wont to act first and investigate afterwards.

However, notwithstanding these "gatherings" of frontiersmen with all their fear and frenzy no drastic action was taken during the winter of 1858-1859, which is to be accounted for in part, at least, by the firm attitude maintained by the army officers who were guarding the reservations. The immediate objective of these threatening movements had been the "lower" or Brazos reservation. This was not because the white men regarded these Indians as the more culpable but rather because they felt that both the Brazos and Comanche reservations must be broken up and the Brazos Indians being the more numerous and powerful were regarded as the chief obstacle to be overcome.

Long before this crisis came the agents had felt that the Indians should be moved from Texas and as early as the summer of 1857 Neighbors had recommended that they be taken to the Indian Territory.[36] But the authorities in Washington did not give any consideration to the proposal and it was dropped for the time. Then came the demonstrations against the Indians during the winter and spring of 1859, and Neighbors again insisted that if the Indians

35. "Memoirs of George B. Erath," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 18.

36. Neighbors to Mix, August 8, 1857. Ms University of Texas photostat copy.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
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were not removed they would be driven away by the mad settlers. The government at Washington was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation and the agents became frantic in their effort to secure authority to do what they knew was essential to save their wards from destruction. Finally, on March 30, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote that the Indians would be moved in the fall or winter following. But this announcement did not satisfy the white people and Neighbors continued his efforts to secure authority to remove his wards at once.[37] Neighbors said that he and his associates had "stood their ground" so far, but that they wanted their superiors to share with them the responsibility for determining what should be done when the next crisis came, as it certainly would come. A little later came a resolution signed by a hundred and fifty men demanding that Neighbors and the resident agents, Ross and Leeper, resign.[38]

The situation was already critical enough when an army officer by an imprudent act provoked a disturbance that removed the last ray of hope for peace on the frontier until the Indians were removed. A Brazos reservation Indian named Fox, had been killed by a party of Jack county rangers in brutal fashion. This officer led a party of reservation Indians in search of Fox's slayers and caused great consternation by escorting them into the town of Jacksboro one night. This incident gave the radical party an excellent torch and they now set the whole frontier aflame with excitement.[39] The citizens at once organized themselves into "ranger companies" and surrounded both reservations, threatening the Indians and their agents day and night and preventing the savages from gathering up their stock.[40] On May 23, John R. Baylor at the head of about 250 men came onto the Brazos reservation; but the soldiers stood their ground and the citizens withdrew, not however, until they had picked a fight with some of the Indians. The Indians pursued them for some distance and considerable fighting took place.[41] The settlers declared that they would raise a thousand men and take

37. Mix to Neighbors, March 30, 1859. Thirtieth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 2, p. 481. Neighbors to Mix, April 11, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
38. "Resolutions," April 25, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
39. J. R. Worrall of Jacksboro, June 1, 1859, to the Editor, The Dallas Herald, June 15, 1859.
40. Neighbors to Mix, May 12, 1859, and Ross to Neighbors, May 12, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.
41. Report of Captain J. B. Plummer, of the United States Army. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 644.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
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both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 665-671.

43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 668.

44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
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657 $91,707.50, for 1856.[45] Probably about one-third of these sums were expended on the Comanches. During the last year preceding the establishment of the reservations the United States had spent $129,820 on the Texas Indians.

000 A sequel to the bitter controversy over the removal of the Indians was the killing of Robert S. Neighbors on the streets of Belknap by a man he scarcely knew, if, indeed he had ever seen him
657 before or knew the man had aught against him. Neighbors had seen the Indians safely located in the Leased District in Indian Territory, had turned them over to their agent there, and was returning
000 home to make his final report to the Indian Office. He stopped at Belknap on matters of business and was killed as he was preparing to proceed on his way to his home in San Antonio.[46]

657 Perhaps in their zeal to protect their wards from the wrath of the white people Neighbors and his associates were blind to the faults of the savages but their courage and devotion to duty in protecting the Indians against what they regarded as the prejudice and avarice of the white men is one of the finest examples of public service to be found in the annals of the American frontier. They were confronted with great odds with their former friends and neighbors aligned against them. At times they had to fight almost single handed, but they stood at their post and were never lacking in either physical or moral courage.

Thus ended the Texas reservation experiment. It may well be doubted that even without the hostile attitude of the white frontiersmen the Comanche reservation could have been made successful. Many of the Southern Comanches never did live on the reserve and
657 of those who came there large numbers refused to remain. The ex-
171 perience of the agents was prophetic of the difficulties the Federal Government was destined to have two decades later when the plan was tried for all the nomadic tribes of the plains under circumstances far more favorable. As long as vast stretches of uninhabited prairies and herds of fat deer, antelope and buffaloes invited them

45. Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," in the Quarterly, XXIX, 116.

46. Leeper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 701. On their return from Indian Territory, Neighbors and Leeper, who were traveling together, were attacked by wild Indians and Leeper was seriously wounded.

25: Canonge L-5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Con he NO6
Okl oma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

ELLIOTT D. CANONGE
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

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121

0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[13]

[1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[14]

My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[15]

Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

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[2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects.

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 129 101

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

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The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzŏ'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ä'pö ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

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The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thoroughgoing comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[113]

[p. 265]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record.

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2]

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces-

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593–1821.

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540–1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599–1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928.

[See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

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175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
101 forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,
[621]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo
[113] de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number.
[122] The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of
[113] the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico
[113] (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 · N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Vnforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104-6-23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

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"The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

> The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party.

In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five, as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin Shoshoneans.

With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here, it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked lances which are badges of office common to the various military societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

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According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

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175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[11]

175 212 701 [648] Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[12]

[113] [11] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[12] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand.
E two wounds which he received
F[31] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[32]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[33]
M Six wounded Comanche,[34] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

NOTE

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

NOTICIA

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592
728

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extraido del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[31] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[32] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[33] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[34] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Plains Indian Law in Development: The Comanche

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

Men have occupied the Great Plains of the West for a good ten thousand years or more. They came in, apparently, when the last ice sheet was in its northward retreat, and their archaeological culture seems to have been fairly stable over long periods of time. But the horse-riding, buffalo-hunting, tipi-dwelling culture of the eighteenth-century Plains Indian was something quite new in its development.

Before the coming of Columbus the Indians of the Plains were largely riverbound and not overly inclined to venture afar into the vast, poorly watered stretches of open grasslands. They had to go afoot.

The coming of the European altered the situation with drastic effect. The Spaniard to the south introduced the horse and thereby provided the means for extensive penetration of the Plains by native populations, for which the thick herds of buffalo and fleet antelope were an enticing lure. On the eastern frontier the French and British were working to cause a far-reaching displacement of the Woodland tribes. White settlements forced some tribes to move westward at an early date. And out beyond the frontier, other displacements were accelerated ahead of the line of settlement by the imperialistic rivalry of the fur trade.

The fur trading tribes sought ever to enlarge their trapping and hunt-

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29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6 2**
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34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1]

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the suceeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche.

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

168 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19-25 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide.

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol.

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size.

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.[A] The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen.

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 177]

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Texas

this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13]

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red.

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14]

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian.

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 57–58) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History.

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

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